[GEIDAM]

~~Specialists~~.

651 The essential problem in the collection of nomad jangali is to find the cows and their owners, who are wandering in search of good grazing, and who are most likely to wander into the deeper thickets when the time for jangali collection nears. Once the cattle owners and their cattle are found, their names are recorded along with the number of cows which each man owns. Then, as he usually has no cash, it is necessary for the owner of a herd of cattle to sell some of them so that he can obtain cash with which he will pay the jangali tax. After his name is recorded, he does not attempt to evade payment. He is then given several weeks to pay his tax. Nomad jangali rates are [487] five shillings for each cow. If a man attempts to conceal cows, if he reports that he owns a number of cows and then is discovered to have more than announced, he pays at the rate of ten shillings per cow.

651 634 The prescribed method for collecting jangali is for the Ajia personally to ride after the Fulani and collect the tax from them for their cattle. In a district the size of Geidam [492] this is obviously impossible. It is necessary for an Ajia to have many horsemen in order to canvass his entire district so that he will collect an amount in jangali which corresponds to the actual number of cows in his district. This is the primary role of the kabuna. There are several approaches to the problem of jangali collection, relying on differing tactics, all used by Yerima. One is to assign important kabuna, who can be

563 651 Maganuwa, and Mai Mar. Several other Mais roam in the brush areas without being attached to particular lowanships. A new man may come to Yerima with a group of Fulani followers and ask to be made an Ardo. If he is appointed Ardo, he is then asked to which Mai he wishes his group to be affiliated. A kabuna sent by Yerima to collect jangali from a particular area records the number of cows reported by the Ardo or Mai for his group of followers in that area. Then the kabuna hunts down the cows [687] and their individual owners. If the kabuna finds that an Ardo actually has more cows than he originally reported, the Ardo is fined five shillings for every additional cow found. Each Fulani Mai receives a percentage of the total jangali collected from his group. The percentage that he receives (wujira) is in the neighborhood of six pence for each pound of jangali collected. The Mai then distributes money to his Ardos, according to the amount of jangali that they brought in.

651 634 When Yerima left Magumeri District in 1953 there were 28,000 cows on which village jangali was paid, and 59,700 cows on which nomad jangali was paid. In 1956, under the new Ajia, Digma, the number of cows on which nomad jangali was paid had dropped to 23,000. The drop in the reported number of cows may be because Fulani have left Magumeri District, but it is more likely that Digma is unable to have them tracked down so that the jangali tax is paid. This is because Digma has insufficient kabuna to do the job adequately. When Yerima first arrived in Geidam in 1953 there were 33,000 cows reported for nomad jangali. By 1956, there were 39,000 cows reported, an